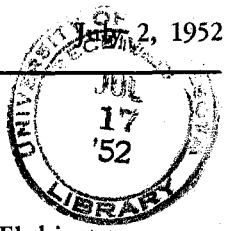
Volume IX, No. 27 HUMAN EVENTS June 2, 1952



"MY TEMPORARY FRIENDS . . .": II

By GEORGE MORGENSTERN

(Historical note: The following is another of the campaign addresses of William Elphinstone, a candidate for nomination as President in 1952. This address, unfortunately, was delivered at a time when all of the national television and broadcasting facilities were occupied by General Eisenhower. As a consequence, it received only brief notice the following day on page 47 of the *New York Times.*)

THE MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S madness of the national conventions is almost upon us. It is a tribute to the foresight of the political managers that these are arranged for an amphitheater within the confines of the Chicago stockyards, and that the great hall which soon will resound to the bellowing, braying, trumpeting and neighing of political animals led from their pens to the slaughter has been air conditioned for the first time for the occasion. Thus we shall not be forced to depend upon a favoring wind to clear the fetid atmosphere.

In better days this arena is devoted to the International Live Stock Exposition, at which fat cattle, ewes, wethers and swine vie for the blue ribbon. I can say without exaggeration that the method of selecting these grand champions is more sensible, dispassionate and productive of universal approval than the process by which the political parties arrive at a determination of winner and runner-up. Too often, in these contests to judge human stock, the Judas goat is chosen for the grand award.

I am indebted to the program notes of the 51st live stock exposition — a volume of high literary quality — to show that we employ an essentially more rational standard in judging four legged stock than candidates for President. The approach is technical and the animals are not allowed to engage in pre-convention deals or to bribe the judges. I especially commend to the attention of Republicans the criterion that ribbon winners conform to type — or, in the language of the judges — be of "uniform get". The quadrennial political choices of the recent past do not suggest that this qualification was consistently respected. The 1940 grand prize was allotted to a former registered Democrat, and the gallery might have seen in the 1944 and 1948 selection a certain New Dealish runtiness.

IN THE approaching show let us trust that those chosen satisfy the essential requirements of sound judging. Is the animal "good foundation material and a credit to the herd"? Is it in "full bloom"? Will it "move to the head of the class without adverse comment" ? Is it "well set at tail" and does it "stand straight on its legs"?

Partisans, of course, will contend that their favorites are in prime condition and of top quality. We may fancy the supporters of General Eisenhower comparing him to

Copyright 1952 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC.
Published weekly at 1136 Eighteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the popular Aberdeen-Angus champion, Eileenmere 1050th, a comparison not altogether inappropriate since the General's Scots fanciers elevated him to the eminence of a local laird and conferred a castle upon him. It may be asked whether the description of the judge is not apposite: "He had thickness, style, and balance. Not extreme in type, he is the 'middle of the road' kind for which the breed is looking."

Those inclining to Senator Duff (though he is not a declared entrant) will cite the commendation of the Hereford champion, Big Spring Special: "His hair was like orange velvet and under his quality hide was a body of correct detail." Admirers of Mr. Stassen will say that, like Hillcrest Lady Larry 11th, he is "exceedingly thick and deep, has a most desirable head, and is mellow and golden-haired". It is true that this candidate seemed rather more fair-haired in former years than now, and some may argue that he is rather more thick than deep.

An animal that seems attractive on the hoof sometimes proves to be less desirable after the carcass is available for inspection following November slaughtering. Mr. Willkie certainly seemed to have "a lot of width, with a nice turn over the back and loin and thick in the rounds", but it is true that "some suspected slight overfatness". We learned later that with Mr. Willkie, as with the third place on-hoof entry, this "was confirmed to a degree upon examination of the carcass", when it was unfortunately established that the "abundant marbling" which seemed to distinguish this candidate occurred principally between the ears.

Yet, despite these occasional disappointments, I am confident that we may again expect a great show. It is always a dramatic moment when the grand champion is selected, and something of the emotional impact of that occasion is suggested in the account given in the exposition handbook: "After Judge Weber gave the Texas steer a slap on the rump to indicate that he had won over all, a thunderous ovation arose from the thousands who had sat tensely through the proceedings."

Before the bedlam of final judging is upon us and we are reduced to utter dishevelment, it would be well to survey and compute our prospects and our chances. Inevitably, a competition of this sort is disastrous to the illusions we live by. Unlike Polled Shorthorns and Corriedale Rams, candidates for political office are permitted to argue their own merits. The intellectual poverty of the breed is familiarly matched by the inept apprehension of the crowd. The recourse of the public is to deafen its doubts in excessive cheering, much as if a corpse driven to its own funeral should join in the rendition of the death march.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THIS PROCESS, I very much fear, is one tending to dry up the springs of hope and resignation — qualities which may be equated as of balancing value. In the absence of the one, it is always a consolation to be able to turn to the other. But when men strike nothing but a succession of dry holes, they are reduced to seeking their encouragement in mirages.

Although gifted with more than ordinary detachment, I confess to astonishment at the performance of my rivals of both parties. There is, perhaps, one redeeming feature. None has shown himself an inspired mountebank of Roosevelt's quality. Lacking the unlimited adulation of the ignorant, anyone whom we install in office is unlikely to escape completely the restraints which, if they do not make for sanity, at least promise us a pedestrian prelude to calamity.

General Eisenhower has proved to us that he can address the nation without a prepared script, and, indeed, without any capacity for informed thought. Mr. Stassen has demonstrated that there is something to justify a belief in the zombie, wherein the political dead march about with every surface appearance of life. Governor Warren has shown supreme fitness to be chosen Alameda County's favorite father in an off year.

For all of his undoubted industry and intelligence, Senator Taft is sometimes hampered by a preoccupation with bookkeeping details. While the people would like to be shown the mountain top in order to try wings no longer pinioned by the state, the Senator barely gets off the ground with the promise of a 15 per cent tax cut, two years from now. He proceeds as if it were an advantage for the state to do much, instead of doing as little as necessary, and is a master of legislative information and detail when salvation would best be achieved through the repeal of 98 per cent of all legislation on the books.

Indeed, it seems to me that the only candidate who does not suffer confusion concerning the relative provinces of government and of the state is the exception before you. Otherwise, the last true liberal of our day would appear to be Miss Garbo, saying, in imperfect English, "I want to be alone."

IT CERTAINLY should be no news that governments are "instituted among men" in order to secure such rights as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness against the rapacity of the state. The state at no time is anything but an instrument for gathering power at the expense of the liberties of the private person. What is usually celebrated as "democracy" is the complicity of the deluded victims. The system at length inevitably

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rests upon coercion, so that absolutism begins with the republican preachments of a Plato and ends with a policeman.

My principal grievance against the current candidates is that they fail to make clear these elementary distinctions. They talk of budgets and legislative remedies for minor abrasions and contusions on the body politic instead of talking in terms of the great principles that alone should concern us. That politicians should prove incompetent in their allotted field is hardly an occasion for surprise. Businessmen might be thought capable of the best exposition of an incentive economy, but they, too, yield their mission to others. The most effective champion of a society based upon the rewards of enterprise is not someone like Mr. Clarence Randall of Inland Steel, but Mr. Max Eastman, a reformed Socialist, who has a delicate appreciation of the operations of the market place as the best example of practicing democracy.

I infer from this fact that, to understand anything, it is necessary to have been victimized by it. The only persons who profit from politics are politicians. Consequently, they can only view a system disadvantageous to everyone as highly meritorious, for they stand to collect through its operations. It is for this reason that I, a member of the exploited herd, am able to appraise the true issues, whereas the political sheepdog, seeking to drive me to his chosen corral, is not. Similarly, it is because Mr. Eastman was himself at one time the prey of a theory of statism, which like all theories of statism, rests on an economic base, that he was perfectly suited to defend an economic system directly opposed to that which he perceived on intimate acquaintance to be full of error.

WE MISTAKE our realities in contemplation of images of doubtful value. Like the natives of Easter Island, who live among giant stone idols of unknown meaning from the remote past, we are beguiled by forms and visages which remain to confront us long after their meaning has been forgotten. Used to hearing from politicians only that which pertains to the business of the state, we are unable to recall the simple mission of government, which is to safeguard us all from the state.

It is well to invoke at this stage of our history one of the enduring maxims of politics: whatever crushes individuality is despotism, by whatever name it may be called and whether it professes to be enforcing the will of God or the injunctions of men. If a man cannot get a coat or a pair of shoes to fit him, unless they are made to measure or he has a whole store to choose from, is it sensible to believe that the state can fit him with a life which at the same time is represented as suitable for all of the millions of his fellows to wear?

So, as we advance upon Chicago, let us remember that what we wish is a champion who will gracefully wear the ribbon of our party in his wool, and not an animal become so presumptuous as a consequence of our favor that he seeks to slip a ring through our nose.

ADDITIONAL COPIES: One—$.20; six—1.00; ten—1.50; fifty—5.50; one hundred—10.00. Quotations for larger quantities on request.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HUMAN EVENTS

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor* FRANK CHODOROV, *Associate Editor*

Vol. IX, No. 27 Wednesday, July 2, 1952 Washington, D. C.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS JUL 17 '52 Library

Could Ike Win the Election? As the primary campaign approaches its end, thoughtful Republican delegates are carefully re-examining the basis on which many of them originally leaned toward the General's candidacy, namely: that he could draw many Democratic voters and possessed such a strong mass appeal that he could not lose.

Now, the delegates are beginning to realize that the General, as a result of taking stands on many issues, has lost many of his original advantages as a candidate. Today, he scarcely appears the sure winner that at first he seemed to be.

For instance, there is now general agreement that the General has lost any chance of winning the Negro vote in general, and in particular in New York, where that vote is more politically conscious than elsewhere. For Ike has come out in opposition to FEPC. Since this Negro vote runs to at least 300,000 in the state of New York, the possibility that Ike (if nominated) could win the 45 electoral votes of the Empire state is very slim. This bloc of votes is often considered a *sine qua non* if a GOP contender for the presidency is to win.

Also, any casual perusal of the left-of-center press in New York shows that Ike has also lost two elements which originally took a favorable attitude toward him. The labor union leaders are now definitely anti-Eisenhower; and consequently the left-wing of the large Jewish vote in that state has obviously cooled off on the General.

It is probably true that Senator Taft could not, any more than Ike, win these three voting classes —labor, left-wing Jewish and Negro. But Taft supporters point to three other minority groups who would not be for Ike if nominated but would, in considerable part, be for Taft if he were the candidate. These are: Polish, German and Irish Catholic. Ike, perhaps quite innocently, has offended the Polish-Americans. If they leave the Democratic Party in any numbers they will go to Taft. The Germans have long been for Taft, and are definitely anti-Ike. (See our analysis of their two groups in our issue of June 11th). Again through inept remarks about his being "fanatically Protestant", and for various other reasons, Irish Catholics have been leaning towards MacArthur and/or Taft.

Summing up — the failure of Ike to sweep the country off its feet when he returned from Europe, the loss of support among various groups as he took stands on this or that issue, and finally the fading of his chances in the populous state of New York definitely undermine the assumption that the General could beyond peradventure win the election if nominated. It is a reality which delegates to the Convention are facing.

MacArthur: Leaders of the GOP privately say that MacArthur's name will be placed in nomination for the Presidential candidacy at the Convention in Chicago next week, whether the General likes it or not. Fervent supporters of the General will actually enter his name in opposition to the General's wishes. MacArthur wishes to cooperate completely with Taft, but he has no control over these fanatical admirers.

Some of these militants claim that today they could muster 60 delegate votes, although observers believe this is a somewhat exaggerated estimate. The latter put the number at about 40. In the Associated Press tabulation, the total is 3.)

Copyright 1952 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC.
Published weekly at 900 Nineteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MacArthur talk took a sharp rise this week, as stories spread that he might get second place on the ticket with Taft. (HUMAN EVENTS a week ago was the first to report this, saying that such a plan is considered Taft's "ace in the hole". The current talk is stimulated by a remark of Taft on a television show of last Sunday. When a questioner asked Taft what he thought of MacArthur as a running-mate, the latter happily replied that "it would be quite a ticket".

The MacArthur revival takes its impetus from several sources. Some delegates leaning to Taft fear that the Taft-Eisenhower struggle is attaining such bitterness that MacArthur, as a compromise candidate, might heal the wounds of the primary campaign and produce party unity. We learn by the grapevine that a revolt in the Eisenhower-dominated Massachusetts delegation last week sprang from not only discontent with Eisenhower control of that group, but also from MacArthur sentiment that had remained dormant for some months. The rebels — reported as numbering 8 delegates — seemed to prefer MacArthur.

It is also said that some of the apparently pro-Eisenhower groups in the South battling Taft supporters for the Dixie delegations contain many MacArthur admirers. This has caused some nervousness among the Ike managers.

Finally, much of the Irish Catholic reaction against Eisenhower in the New York area is mixed with support for a MacArthur candidacy. Whether true or not, the story has spread through this group of voters that last winter Cardinal Spellman and MacArthur had a private and very harmonious meeting. Many Irish Catholics believe the prelate favors the former Far Eastern commander as GOP candidate. It is noted that the borough of Queens, predominantly populated by this group, is strongly Republican and for Taft and/or MacArthur.

Cold View: Today, on the eve of the GOP convention, what are the "cold turkey" prophecies in Washington? On Capitol Hill, most of the members, both Republicans and Democrats, believe, "It's Taft." They rely on the Associated Press poll, which gives Taft 484 and Ike 407, with 315 uncommitted, contested, etc. Of the latter pool of votes, it is reasonable — say these Hill people — to assume that Taft would get about 40 per cent, figuring conservatively. That would result in a Taft majority.

However, there are others who foresee a photo-finish and who believe that the Ike forces have by no means shot their bolt. These "others" are men who have no personal stake in the contest, who are paid well for their ability to make good guesses. They all believe that the wealthy backers of the General will try to "pull a Willkie blitz" at the last moment, deploying vast financial resources and pressures. (Eisenhower may be quite unaware of this kind of pressure.) Some of these observers believe the blitz will succeed. Others differ, and believe that it will boomerang, since the memory of 1940 is still vivid among delegates; that in the ensuing confusion both Ike and Taft will be rejected and that then MacArthur will be awarded the nomination.

Democratic Unity: "I would find it difficult", said Governor James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, yesterday, "to support anyone who would support a compulsory FEPC no matter how sugar coated." This warning statement should bring up short those who have been coasting along in recent months on the theory that the Southern Democrats had become "regular" and docile, and that talk of a Southern bolt was outdated.

The Byrnes crack was obviously directed at Governor Stevenson, the none too towering figure in the Illinois state house, who is the sole hope of holding the Administration party together. For, what other likely candidate looms in the Democratic picture — that is a candidate who can cement the North and South? Russell, of course, cannot receive the support of the Northern big-city Democratic machines and their preponderant delegations to the convention. And a roll call of the other hopefuls presents a picture hardly encouraging to those who crave unity.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Would the South revolt if Kefauver were the nominee? The answer here in Washington is "yes". Harriman? Yes, decidedly. Truman? A ringing chorus of "naturally". Kerr? No — but the Northerners would not permit the nomination of this "southerner". Barkley? Maybe not — but he's just too old to be seriously considered.

In face of this situation, those who watch the great game here show suspicion of the bland assumption that the South will not revolt this year. What would the Southerners risk? The Dixiecrats have suffered no loss of patronage for their rebellion of 1948. No Southern member of Congress has lost seniority or the chairmanship of a committee as a result of the split in the last Presidential election. And every Southern member is keenly conscious that, without the South, the Democratic Party in Congress would not have enough votes to organize both Houses, elect presiding officers and distribute the spoils of chairmanships. Having "gotten away with" the Dixiecrat bolt of '48, they can well ask themselves, "What are we waiting for?"

Lattimore Affair: Not everyone in the Capital takes at face value the news about the "false tip" that Lattimore had booked passage abroad and the subsequent gyrations of the State Department.

As reported in the press, the Department — acting on this "tip" relayed from the Central Intelligence Agency — banned travel abroad for the controversial professor, once described by Senator McCarthy as the "architect" of our disastrous policy in the Far East. Then came the exposure of the false tip, the rescinding of the ban and apologies from the State Department.

The Washington *Times-Herald* editorially (June 29) finds the reversal by the State Department "fishy". That paper thinks it "remarkable" that the Administration and State Department which have for so long defended Lattimore against charges by Senator McCarthy should turn around suddenly and ban his travel abroad, with the suggestion that he should not be allowed to visit behind the Iron Curtain.

The newspaper editorial says: "If the very hint that he (Lattimore) was thinking of leaving the country was sufficient on Friday to take action clearly conveying an adverse judgment on Lattimore, why should the discovery of Tuesday that he wasn't packing his bags, after all, alter the Department's expressed view that it is not in the national interest to permit him out of the country?"

"If he wasn't trusted on Friday", said the *Times-Herald*, "there is no better reason for the Department to trust him on Tuesday. Whether he wants to go or to stay has nothing to do with the judgment."

The Washington newspaper finds very "fishy" the State Department apology and asks, "What comes next?" It speculates: "Does the apology suggest that Lattimore is clear of suspicion not only concerning an intended exit, but of everything else? By creating general sympathy through an apparent act of petty injustice, the Department would imply by indirection that the great volume of charges of more substantial character brought against Lattimore by McCarthy and others were equally unjust? That would be a convenient formula for discrediting the Senator and the evidence and giving Lattimore a pass as a much abused martyr."

In the Pentagon: American military circles reflect indigation over a British statement to the effect that the British government had a hand in the dismissal of MacArthur from his Far Eastern command. It happened like this:

On June 26, Emmanuel Shinwell, former Minister of Defense in the Labor Government (at the time of MacArthur's dismissal) made a statement which was recorded in *Hansard* (the British counterpart of our *Congressional Record*). Shinwell said: "When there was a prospect of General MacArthur's taking action which exceeded his authority and which was resented not only in this country but in the United States, we took effective action." There were shouts of "no" in the House of Commons. Shinwell continued: "Well, if we did not take effective action I should like to know . . . why I and other members of the Labor Government were accused of taking action which brought about MacArthur's dismissal?"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Regular army officers in the Pentagon took this to mean that the British Government at least helped bring about the historical dismissal. These officers, regardless of their opinions about MacArthur, found offensive the idea of a foreign government suggesting removal of one of our officers.

The episode, indeed, opened old sores dating from the last war, when many cases of such British interference with our military personnel occurred. In these cases, the British found certain U. S. officers opposing their views on strategy or tactics in one matter or another, or sometimes simply reporting critically to Washington on British military actions. The British authorities in these cases pulled wires, usually via the White House or State Department, to have such American officers removed or transferred.

The most striking example of this kind was British intrigue in Washington to have General Marshall transferred to another position where his views would not block British plans. This affair reached the columns of Washington papers early in 1944. The cabal failed. Another case involved Churchill's antagonism towards General A. C. Wedemeyer who had criticized some of Churchill's proposals for action in the Balkan's. As a result, Churchill persuaded Roosevelt to have Wedemeyer transferred from his position in war planning to the remote command of the China-Burma theater.

Other episodes come to mind. An American intelligence officer on the Libya front in 1942 sent reports to Washington critical of British handling of the situation. The British got him removed from this post and sent back to the Capital. In the same year, in Moscow, an American military attache took too realistic and critical a view of Soviet Russia, thereby incurring the distrust of a British left-wing official who helped to bring about the American's recall.

Anglophobia in the American Army, which was almost non-existent at the start of the war, grew rapidly as such things took place. The Shinwell remarks have set it going again.

UN and Education: The *New York Times* in last Sunday's front page manages, all in one "news" item, (1) to smear critics of our educational system, (2) to bolster the educational monopolists who want to smother criticism and (3) finally to prove that no critic or organization critical of these monopolists can get a fair deal from a paper boasting of its impartial treatment of news.

Mr. Benjamin Fine, "educational" editor of the Times, wrote the piece. Reporting that opposition has been rising to teaching of information about UN and UNESCO, Fine ignores the criticism of the international organization by such writers as Frank Kent and Dorothy Thompson, and the natural reaction of the general public against an organization set up to prevent war which has dismally failed in its mission. Fine traces the opposition to "self-styled superpatriotic organizations or critical individuals."

Is the American Council on Education any more "self-styled" than the National Education Association, the big whale of the educational monopolists? Is it any more so than the American Association for the United Nations? And what is meant by "superpatriotic"? Obviously, the so-called impartial *Times* reporter seeks to prejudice the reader about the critics of the educational monopolists.

According to Fine, these latter organizations want to prevent teaching of "information" about the UN. Actually, of course, they do nothing of the kind; they want to prevent teaching of propaganda in favor of the UN. They very justifiably regard the American Association *for* the UN as a biased source of information; it admits as much in its title.

However, in justice to the *Times* educational editor, he does report some news. He discloses (at least it is news to us) that in Houston, Texas, the school board recently banned the essay contest sponsored by the American Association for the UN; and that the Los Angeles school board recently directed high school teachers not to participate in the contest. Apparently not all cities deem the United Nations beyond criticism.

Entered as second class matter at the Post Office, Washington, D. C.
Quotation up to a paragraph is permitted with credit to HUMAN EVENTS. For reproduction or more extensive quotation address requests to HUMAN EVENTS, 900 Nineteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Trial subscription, three months for $3. Six months, $5.50. One year, $10. Two years, $18. Domestic airmail (including APO and FPO) one year, $12.00; foreign (regular mail) one year, $11. Foreign airmail rates on request. Please remit in U.S.A. DOLLARS. Allow two weeks for new subscription or change in address to become effective.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED